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entitled Mennesker og Rettigheter (Men and Rights). Vol. 2, no. 1, 1984 of this journal was devoted to indigenous peoples and contained two articles about East Timor. One of these was in English and was written by the well-known specialist in international law professor Roger S. Clark. His paper discussed the legal aspects of Indonesia's take-over of East Timor. Clark maintained that "Indonesia's armed attack on East Timor and its denial of self-determination to the East Timorese were both flagrant violations of international law".

Activists

Almost the whole time since 1975 there have been some Timor activists in Scandinavia. From Denmark we can mention the indefatig Torben Retboll who has written numerous critical articles in Danish newspapers and journals, and sometimes also in other Scandinavian publications. Retboll has also published two books on East Timor in English, both published by IWGIA (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs) in Copenhagen: 1) East Timor, Indonesia and the Western Democracies, 1980, 138 pp. 2) East Timor: The Struggle Continues, 1984, 217 pp.

In Sweden there has been a small but active East Timor committee It has arranged demonstrations and in May 1983 it arranged a hearin on East Timor. At this hearing were present representatives of the Swedish political parties, and they expressed their views on the East Timor affair. Also present were an East Timorese refugee and Jill Jolliffe, who presented a paper.

The Swedish East Timor committee has also engaged itself in several publications. In 1981 it published a booklet in Swedish about East Timor's "forgotten war", written by Olle Törnquist and Hendrik Amahorseja. From 1982 on the Swedish East Timor committee has published a bulletin on East Timor, and the 8th issue of this bulletin appeared in September 1985. This bulletin has contained information about developments in East Timor and clippings from the Swedish and international press.

The Ruthless Game

In November 1985 the Swedish East Timor Committee published Det Grymma Spelet (The Ruthless Game), ed. by Björn Larsson, 95 pp. This book, written in Swedish, has as a subtitle "Sweden's role in Indonesia's genocide in East Timor 1975-1985". This subtitle sets the tone for this book which in successive chapters presents the background of the war in East Timor, voices from East Timor, Swedish arms exports to Indonesia, Sweden and the UN,

Swedish aid to East Timor, Sweden and IGGI, and Swedish trade with Indonesia.

On the whole Det Grymma Spelet follows a track which has been common among critics of Indonesia. The book argues that there have been strong political and economic interests which have wanted to silence "the war in East Timor". The USA has wished that no light is thrown on its role in Indonesia's agoression. Further, Indonesia "is one of the great export markets of the Western world" (p. 9). One third of the population of East Timor, or about 200,000 people, has died because of Indonesia's attack (p. 10).

Apart from this well-known melody which only repeats what various Timor activists have maintained many times, Det Grymma Spelet also contains some information which is not as well-known or even new. So the book presents a list of Swedish arms exports to Indonesia for the period 1977-1985. The first five years (1977-81) Sweden had a conservative government, whereas the country has had a social-democratic government during the rest of the period. The yearly value of arms exports has fluctuated between SwCr. 1.1 million to SwCr. 85.8 millions (p. 30).(As of 10 Dec. 1985 US$ 1.- was about worth SwCr. 7.60). During the conservative period the total value of arms exports to Indonesia was SwCr. 172.3 millions, whereas the total value during the social democratic period was SwCr. 200.3 millions.

These arms exports have been much debated in Sweden. So far the arms exports adherents have won the day. The main reason is probably the important place the arms industry has in the Swedish economy. Ideologically the arms industry is defended as securing Sweden's independent foreign policy. The authors of Det Grymma Spelet argue that arms exports to Indonesia violate accepted rules for such exports, but it is clear that the Swedish authorities have had a different view.

In chapter 4 of Det Grymma Spelet the Swedish votes in the UN are discussed. I have already treated of this topic in my book Timor - Past and Present (James Cook University, Townsville, Australia 1985, 98 pp.). But Det Grymma Spelet contains some information which has not been available in English publications so far.

In 1975-79 Sweden voted for UN resolutions which criticized Indonesia. During 1980-82 Sweden abstained from voting. The Swedish government explained its change of voting in 1980 in the following way. Already in 1979 the Swedish government was of the opinion that a de facto situation prevailed in East Timor, a situation to which there was no realistic alternative. Humanitarian considerations

SCANDINAVIA AND EAST TIMOR

by Finngeir Hiorth

The Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Norway and Sweden) have, as a whole, shown little interest in the East Timor affair. The three countries are far from Timor, and their interest in South-East Asia is limited. There have, however, for centuries been some contacts between the three countries and South-East Asia. The first known Norwegian to visit Indonesia came to Jakarta in 1670 on board a Dutch ship, and there he met a few Danes.

Since Indonesia's invasion of East Timor (starting September 1975, but massively from 7 December 1975 on), the Scandinavian mass media have from time to time shown interest in the East Timor affair. Indonesia's invasion itself was quite well covered, but as the war continued and the Indonesians got better and better control over the territory, the interest in East Timor waned.

Norway

Still, even in 1985, East Timor was not completely forgotten in Scandinavia. At the occasion of the 10th anniversary of Indonesia's massive invasion, Bjørn Egil Eide of the Norwegian Broadcasting System reported from Singapore and gave a short radio survey of developments in East Timor since 1975. In 1982 a Norwegian team visited East Timor and afterwards showed a 25 minute film on Norwegian Television during prime time in the evening.

The appearance of Amnesty's International's book East Timor, Violations of Human Rights (June 1985) was the occasion of renewed activity for the Norwegian Section of Amnesty International. Thirty-three Amnesty groups were active to throw light on the deplorable human rights situation inm East Timor. They sent appeals to the Indonesian authorities and information to various Indonesian organizations and groups. They also tried to inform the Norwegian public through news stadds and the press. On the whole the Norwegian mass media gave broad coverage to East Timor in June and July 1985, at least if compared with preceding months and years. The Norwegian Section also wrote to the Norwegian government and suggested that Norway should take up Timor at the UN General Assembly.

Earlier, in ~~1978~~ 1978, Lars S. Vikør had published an article on East Timor in the Norwegian journal Syn og Segn. An updated version of the article was republished in a book in 1980.

In 1983 the Norwegian Human Rights Project started a new journal

should be given first priority. Later developments had confirmed this conclusion. In spite of its different vote, Sweden was in 1980 still convinced that Indonesia through its invasion and its refusal to comply with adopted UN resolutions had violated the principle of self-determination. The people of East Timor was an innocent victim of political rivalry and of a distorted process of decolonization (p. 48).

Still, Sweden's contributions for the purpose of humanitarian aid to East Timor have been modest. In the period 1975-83 Sweden contributed with a total of SwCr. 6.6 millions, most of which was given through the International Red Cross. Other receivers were the Catholic Relief Service (1 million), Unicef (1.2 million) and the Indonesian Red Cross (0.2 million in 1975). The authors of Det Grymma Spelet present a number of critical comments to the ways in which Swedish aid has been used.

In chapter 6 the authors discuss Sweden's relation to IGGI (Inter Governmental Group for Indonesia), a body which was established in 1966. Since 1980 Sweden has participated in IGGI as an observer. In 1985 Sweden applied for full membership. In Det Grymma Spelet various voices for and against Sweden's relationship to IGGI are surveyed.

In chapter 7 the authors discuss Swedish-Indonesian trade. In the period 1975-85 exports totalled SwCr. 3652 millions, and imports 1226 millions. This trade has had its ups and downs, but both exports and imports have shown a tendency to increase over the years. Swedish governments, irrespective of political colour, have supported attempts to sell Swedish products in Indonesia.

In a last chapter the authors summarize their views. The regime in Indonesia is described as "one of the most brutal of our time". In spite of Indonesia's "war of aggression" against East Timor, the Swedish government has "started collaboration with the power of occupation Indonesia" (p. 81). The authors clearly want to stop arms exports to Indonesia, and probably also a reduction or total abolishment of trade with Indonesia (this is not quite clear). The authors want to support pro-East Timorese resolutions at the UN. Apparently they also want Sweden to withdraw from IGGI.

On the whole, the main concern of the authors is not, however, to consider and propose alternative policies, but to denounce and criticize the Indonesian regime. Although a part of the book is devoted to East Timor, most of it is devoted to Swedish trade and policy in relation to Indonesia. The authors want to change

Swedish foreign policy by giving Swedish East Timor a more central place in Swedish foreign policy considerations.

But even among other Swedish leftists their views probably are a minority view only, as other leftists want to emphasize other more or less "rotten" regimes. As probably 4 out of 5 countries in the world are authoritarian or have other ~~ik~~ inhuman features, it is not difficult to find countries which can be critized. To be safe one would need to abolish all trade and have no foreign policy, which unfortuantely also is a kind of foreign policy.

Scandinavian indifference

The preceding account shows that there has been some interest in East Timor in Scandinavia in the period 1975-85. Undoubtedly more interest than appears from the account could be uncovered with further research.

Still, in spite of sporadic and specialized interest in East Timor, the Scandinavian peoples have as a whole been ignorant and indifferent. It is not so that the mass media have wanted to silence "the war in East Timor". It is simply that interest among the general public and most journalists has been almost non-existent. People who know much about South-East Asia are rare in Scandinavia, and for the general public Indonesia is almost an unknown entity.

Even leading politicians are rather ignorant. In 1983 I tried to find a Norwegian representative of the National Assembly with interests in the East Timor affair, but I could not find as much as one person. At that time no Norwegian political party had any official view of East Timor. Even the Norwegian minister of foreign affairs seemed badly informed about East Timor, and his attempt in a letter to me at the end of 1982 to explain the Norwegian policy of abstention at the UN was rather helpless.

In Denmark and Sweden there has been only a handful of national politicians who have had some knowledge of the East Timor affair. Their views [redacted], as far as they have been different from official policy, have remained without influence. Foreign policies with regard to East Timor have been determined without being bothered by any public opinion worth speaking of. To a large extent it remains unclear why the Scandinavian countries have voted as they have done at the UN. The reasons given officially are only partly the main real reasons.

According to the official Indonesian view, East Timor has been an Indonesian province since 17 July 1976. Although many East Timorese have resisted Indonesia's occupation, it has been clear from very early that they could not expect any military help from the outside. This, of course, also applies to the Scandinavian countries which have at best presented some verbal support and a few crumbs from their rich smorgasbord.

Indonesia's occupation of East Timor may be compared with the Dutch occupation of Aceh, on the northern tip of Sumatra. It took the Dutch 40 years (1873-1913) before Aceh was conquered. In part this was due to strong resistance, in part to limited Dutch resources. Even after 1913 guerilla-episodes and suicidal attacks on Dutchmen occured until 1938. Only the five last years of Dutch occupation were without violent resistance.

East Timor as an Indonesian province has not come that far as of 1985. Various violent episodes have continued in 1985, and on 20 November 1985 the Indonesian forces reportedly suffered 16 casualties, most of them fatal, in the area Los Palos - Viqueque. Timorese losses were reportedly at least as great. The Indonesians obviously still do not control the whole of East Timor. But on the other side the last ten years show that the East Timorese will have to live with the Indonesians in a shotgun marriage.

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